# Equal Rights

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SATURDAY
OCTOBER 15, 1932

## Josephine Casey

**Captain, not of Industry, but of women in Industry. During the past year Miss Casey, who was formerly an organizer for the American Federation of Labor, has been working in Georgia, Rhode Island and Massachusetts as an organizer for the National Woman's Party. An article by Miss Casey, recounting her experiences and explaining why working women want Equal Rights, appears in this issue.**

# Equal Rights

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OBJECT OF THE WOMAN'S PARTY

**The object of this organization shall be to secure for women complete equality with men under the law and in all human relationships.**

THE LUCRETIA MOTT AMENDMENT

**"Men and women shall have Equal Rights throughout the United States and every place subject to its jurisdiction."**

**"Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation."**

[Senate Joint Resolution Number 52]
[House Joint Resolution Number 55]
Introduced in the Senate June 4, 1929, by Senator Gerald P. Nye, North Dakota.

Introduced in the House January 11, 1932, by Representative Louis Ludlow, Indiana.




## Isn't It Rather a Pity?

WRITING in the current issue of the *Congressional Digest* in defense of America's adopting the five-day week plan, William Green, president of the American Federation of Labor, says:

"Temperamentally there are two kinds of people in the world: One says: 'Progress can be made; how can we contribute to that end?' the other: 'we shall do well indeed if we are able to maintain present achievements without incurring the hazards involved in making changes.' The first group has aided constructive change, and the other group has consistently opposed it, regardless of whether the proposal dealt with education, politics or human welfare. Labor proposals have uniformly been opposed by the second group."

Labor women realize only too well the truth of Mr. Green's assertion, for their proposal that women be granted Equal Rights with men is consistently met by the opposition with the remarks that, "The passage of the Equal Rights Amendment would jeopardize protective legislation and we shall do well indeed if we are able to maintain present achievements without increasing the hazards involved in making changes.

Even the Socialist candidate for the Presidency, who might be expected to cerebrate according to Mr. Green's first group, when it comes to the question of justice to women falls a victim to the fear complex.

In reply to a letter addressed to Mr. Thomas by a member of the Woman's Party urging that he support the Equal Rights Amendment, he says:

"I know how you feel about your Equal Rights Amendment. I do not think the present situation is satisfactory. I want to get proper protection and a proper labor code for men and women, discriminating between men and women only in so far as sound physiological considerations may lead us to do. In the meanwhile I am afraid of risking some protective legislation and the principle of protective legislation by a blanket amendment when the result sought might be secured some other way. Isn't it rather a pity, anyhow, to put this amendment ahead of the economic changes which are of most vital importance?"

Perhaps Mr. Thomas does not realize that most of the industrial laws that women now enjoy alone are infinitely out of date, and that this type of sex-linked legislation is blocking the way toward better working conditions for both men and women.

ONE of the problems created by the five-day week, one of the reasons why it would be difficult of application, according to the National Industrial Conference Board, is because of the special industrial laws for women. In a report brought out in 1929 this authority states:

"In some cases the adjustment of the work week to five days had been rendered difficult by legislation limiting the hours per day during which women could be employed."

Since the labor of men and women must of necessity more or less mingle, it is not reasonable to suppose that it would be advantageous to have two sets of labor laws for the two sexes.

Mary Anderson, chief of the Women's Bureau of the Department of Labor, also writing in the current issue of the *Congressional Digest*, says:

"A real five-day week is the only safe basis on which to reconstruct for the future. . . . . A shorter work week is especially important for women in industry, the great majority of whom up to the present have had a schedule in excess of 48 hours, according to studies of the Women's Bureau of the Department of Labor."

It is difficult to reconcile this progressive statement of Miss Anderson with her stand-pat attiude toward "protective" legislation.

Josephine Casey, in this issue of Equal Rights, puts the case squarely for the working woman. The most important labor legislation now pending, so far as the wage-earning woman is concerned, is the Equal Rights Amendment. Without that constitutional guarantee the working woman is literally "reduced to the status of a peasant" and can be, and frequently is, thrown out of work to ask alms as a pauper simply through the operation of restrictive laws.

For Mr. Thomas, therefore, to ask the question, "Isn't it rather a pity, anyhow, to put this amendment ahead of the economic changes which are of most vital importance?" is to discount utterly the stake which women have in the approaching election.

The fact of the matter is that no other economic change is comparable in "vital importance" to the passage of the Equal Rights Amendment.

Isn't it rather a pity that a man's sense of economic values is so often confined to his own sex?

# Nationality Campaign Makes Advances at Geneva

THE Thirteenth Ordinary Session of the Assembly of the League of Nations now meeting in Geneva, Switzerland, has as its First Committee that on the Nationality of Women. This is as it should be for the nationality of women is of first importance in international affairs.

On September 28 the League Committee of Representatives of Women's International organizations sent a communication to the First Committee which was entered in the official records under the following note by the Secretary General:

The Secretary-General has received from the Honorary Assistant Secretary of the above-mentioned committee the following further communication, which formulates, in the form of a resolution, proposals upon which all the organizations represented on the committee are agreed.

LETTER FROM THE COMMITTEE TO THE SECRETARY-GENERAL

"With a view to formulating in precise terms proposals upon which all the organizations represented upon it are agreed, the Women's Consultative Committee on Nationality created by the 1931 Council of the League of Nations has unanimously drawn up the enclosed draft of a resolution, which I beg to transmit to you herewith with the request that you will be so good as to circulate it to the First Committee of the Assembly.

"The committee is composed of the following organizations:

"The International Council of Women,
"The International Alliance of Women for Suffrage and Equal Citizenship,
"The Women's International League for Peace and Freedom,
"The Inter-American Commission of Women,
"The Equal Rights International,
"The World Union of Women for International Concord,
"The All-Asian Conference of Women,
"The International Federation of University Women.

(Signed) "LOUISE C. A. VAN EEGHEN,
"Hon. Assistant Secretary."

DRAFT ENCLOSED WITH THE ABOVE LETTER

In view of the widespread demand for an improvement of the position of women in the matter of nationality,

And in view of the opposition expressed by women's international organizations to the articles 8, 9, 10, 11 of The Hague Nationality Convention which discriminates against women,

The Assembly decides to ask the Council to consider means of withdrawing articles 8, 9, 10, 11 from The Hague Nationality Convention so that only the remaining articles will be before the governments for ratification,

The Assembly also decides to ask the Council to consider means of submitting to the governments for ratification a new Convention which shall be founded upon the principle of equality of the sexes in nationality.

ON the same day, September 28, a second epoch-making document was dispatched to the First Committee. This was the Draft Resolution proposed by the delegations of Chile and Colombia. Translated from the original the entire document carrying the resolution reads:

The Chilean and Colombian delegations, in view of the recommendation (No. VI) of The Hague Conference which states:

"The conference recommends to States the study of the question whether it would not be possible

1. to introduce into their law the principle of the equality of the sexes in matters of nationality, taking particularly into consideration the interests of the children,
2. and especially to decide that in principle the nationality of the wife shall henceforth not be affected without her consent either by the mere fact of marriage or by any change in the nationality of her husband,"

and in view of the strong opposition expressed by the women's international organizations against the articles of The Hague Convention dealing with the nationality of women (Articles 8, 9, 10, 11) which, in their opinion, are prejudicial to women, feel that the moment is come to take a decision permitting a solution of the problem to be found.

Various countries which signed The Hague Convention in the interests of international concord have realized that the spirit of their national law is far more advanced than the spirit by which the agreement reached at the conference was inspired and the delegations feel that the work done, being inadequate, can be improved in the future.

On the other hand the possibility of effecting such an improvement appears to be increased by the fact that in the majority of the replies to the questionnaire sent by the Secretary-General of the League of Nations to the governments, sympathy is expressed for the liberal principle of equality between the sexes in regard to nationality.

As a means of realizing this object, the Chilean and Colombian delegations present the following draft resolution:

DRAFT RESOLUTION

"The Assembly decides to request the Council to take the necessary measures to proceed to revision of Articles 8, 9, 10 and 11 of the Convention of The Hague, of April 12, 1930, on certain questions relating to the conflict of nationality laws, which deal with the nationality of women.

"The Assembly further decides to ask the Council to consider means for preparing a new convention based on the principle of equality between the sexes in regard to nationality and conceived in the same spirit as the resolution proposed at The Hague Codification Conference by the delegation of Chile, reading as follows:

> "The contracting parties agree that from the going into effect of this convention their shall be no distinction based on sex in their law and practice relating to nationality."

"The Assembly invites the Women's Consultative Committee on Nationality to present to the next Assembly through the intermediary of the Secretary-General any observations which it may desire to make and requests the Secretary-General to give the committee all necessary facilities for the performance of its work."

THE presentation of these two resolutions to the First Committee, obvious and essential as this action was, represents an amazing achievement in international politics. The ground is now laid for a reconsideration of the whole question of women's nationality.

One of the essential steps leading to this momentous victory was the transmissal of the following communication to the Assembly, the Council and the members of the League of Nations on September 7.

As a document of outstanding importance in the ultimate history of the Feminist movement we reprint it in full. It appears in the official records under the title: "Nationality of Women: Observations by the Committee of Representatives of Women's International Organizations":

*Note by the Secretary-General.*

By its resolution of September 26, 1931, by which it adjourned until its session of this year consideration of the question of the nationality of women, the Assembly decided to receive any further observations which the above-mentioned committee might desire to present to it.

The committee is composed of representatives of the following organizations:

The International Council of Women;
The International Alliance of Women for Suffrage and Equal Citizenship;
The Women's International League for Peace and Freedom;
The Inter-American Commission of Women;

The Equal Rights International;
The World Union of Women for International Concord;
The All-Asian Conference of Women;
The International Federation of University Women.

It was set up by these organizations in response to an invitation which was addressed to them by the Secretary-General in accordance with the Council's resolution of January 24, 1931, and drew up a report which was submitted last year to the Assembly and is reproduced as an annex to the document A.19.1931.V.

The committee has now presented, for communication to the Assembly, the following two reports, each of which was signed by the representatives of four of the organizations represented on the committee.

### Statement to the Assembly of the League of Nations on the Nationality of Women and The Hague Nationality Convention.

*Submitted by the Undersigned Organizations, Members of the Women's Consultative Committee on Nationality.*

The representatives of the undersigned four organizations, members of the Women's Consultative Committee on Nationality created by the Council of the League of Nations, unite in submitting the following statement in response to the opportunity for further observations from this committee graciously afforded by the last Assembly:

We wish, first, to reaffirm the principles set forth in our report to the Assembly last year, wherein we expressed our opposition to The Hague Nationality Convention because it differentiates between men and women, and wherein we urged the Assembly to submit to the Governments a new convention founded upon the principle of equality in nationality. We wish also in this connection to emphasize again the especial significance of The Hague Nationality Convention as the beginning of the League of Nations program for the codification of international law and the particular importance therefore of keeping the convention free from inequalities based on sex.

We make these declarations with even greater emphasis this year because we are face to face today with an emergency—namely, the imminent danger of the ratification of The Hague Convention. During the past year, one additional government has adhered to this convention and several others, in replying to the League of Nations enquiry, have stated their intention to ratify. Only seven more ratifications or adhesions are needed to bring the convention into operation. The long-heralded code of international law would then be established with discriminations against women in its opening articles, and a new era would be opened with deplorable reaction.

Not only is there an emergency because of the danger of the ratification of The Hague Convention, but there is also an emergency in that women are suffering today, as never before in recent times, from the disastrous consequences of unequal nationality laws. The recommendation by The Hague Codification Conference that the States should study "the question whether it would not be possible to introduce into their law the principle of the equality of the sexes in matters of nationality" has not been carried into effect. The result is that now, in this time of economic distress, large numbers of women who have been deprived by marriage of their own nationality are unable to get employment because they are classed as aliens even though living in the land of their birth. Some cannot carry on their professions because their licenses have been taken away on the ground that they are aliens. Others suddenly find that various new restrictions applying to foreigners prevent them from going on with the trade or occupation in which they have been engaged for years. And it is not only in the matter of employment that women are finding it an exceedingly great handicap in these times to have their nationality changed without their consent. The woman who has been in government service finds she has lost her pension; the woman who is sick finds the State hospitals of her native country closed to her; the woman who is destitute finds she has no claim upon her own country for help.

It is gratifying that the Assembly realizes the seriousness of this situation and has put the subject of the nationality of women and The Hague Nationality Convention upon the agenda of the coming Assembly. Since the Assembly plans to consider this problem, we wish to present certain recommendations. We are in entire agreement with all that is said by our colleagues on this committee in their accompanying statement to the Assembly, but we believe that, in this emergency, we should make recommendations for action as well as for further study. We therefore lay before the Assembly the following recommendations and, in doing so, we believe that we are expressing the desires and hopes of vast numbers of women the world over.

#### Recommendations

In order to put the codification work already undertaken by the League upon a basis of equality between men and women, and in order to prevent inequalities in any future codification by the League, we urgently request the Assembly to take whatever measures are necessary and within its power:

(1) To bring about the reconsideration of The Hague Nationality Convention;

(2) To delete from The Hague Nationality Convention the four articles that discriminate against women (Articles 8, 9, 10, 11);

(3) To submit to the governments a new convention founded on the principle of equality between men and women with regard to nationality, along the lines of the draft convention which was placed by the delegation from Chile before The Hague Codification Conference, reading:

> "The Contracting States agree that from the going into effect of this convention there shall be no distinction based on sex in their law and practice relating to nationality";

(4) To provide means for taking into consideration the woman's point of view on all codification projects affecting the status of women which may hereafter be brought forward:

(5) To ensure that all future codification of international law undertaken under the auspices of the League shall be free from inequalities based on sex.[1]

August 15, 1932.

*The Women's International League for Peace and Freedom:*
(Signed) Eugenie Miskolczy Meller,
Lola Maverick Lloyd.
*The Inter-American Commission of Women:*
(Signed) Alice Paul,
Marta Vergara.
*The Equal Rights International:*
(Signed) Dorothy Evans,
Lillian von Matsch.
*The All-Asian Conference of Women:*
(Signed) Rosa Welt Straus,
Margaret E. Cousins.

### Observations on the Nationality of Women and The Hague Convention

*Presented by the Undersigned Women's International Organizations, Members of the Women's Consultative Committee on Nationality.*

The twelfth Assembly of the League of Nations, after it had adjourned to its session of 1932 the examination of the question of the nationality of women, decided to consider, together with observations from the governments, any additional observations which the Committee of Representatives of Women's Organizations might desire to present.

In response to this invitation, the undersigned organizations, members of the committee and representing 45 million women distributed among the national associations of forty-six countries, have the honor to submit their observations to the Assembly.

First, however, these organizations desire to thank those members of the twelfth

[1] This recommendation is in line with the proposed equality reservation to the resolution for the adherence of the United States of America to the World Court. This reservation, which is now pending before the United States Senate, reads: "provided that the Code of Law to be administered by the World Court shall not contain inequalities based on sex".

Assembly and those governments which have supported the principle of equality between the sexes in the matter of nationality.

OBSERVATIONS

I. *Does The Hague Convention constitute the Maximum which can at present be obtained?*

It has been said that the articles of The Hague Convention on the nationality of women represent the maximum which is at present obtainable in a codification of international law.

The reasons put forward in support of this statement are essentially reasons of a political character rather than legal objections.

In 1927, when the Assembly gave the Council the mission of convening the governments to a codification conference, it recommended that certain general rules to govern the discussions should be indicated, more particularly as regarded "the spirit of the codification, which should not confine itself to the mere registration of the existing rules, but should aim at adapting them as far as possible to contemporary conditions of international life".

Why are the limits of the "possible" so restricted? The cause lies not merely in divergencies of legislation but also, as M. Guerrero pointed out in the report which he presented at The Hague, in the "more or less marked tendency of each delegation to press the claims of its own country's laws". But the spirit of internationalism requires that the solution of problems should be sought objectively, not subjectively.

This does not mean any infringement of the sovereignty of States, which exercise that sovereignty in the act of ratifying a convention in its totality, or with such restrictions as are permitted by the text.

It cannot be denied that, in contemporary international life, modifications of economic and social conditions have brought with them a change in the legal status of women. To refuse to take this fact into account is to be in contradiction with the basic principle of the convocation of the Codification Conference.

II. *Conflicts of Laws.*

1. *Statelessness and Double Nationality of Married Women.*—It has been contended that The Hague Convention should be accepted because it abolishes as regards married women certain cases of statelessness and of double nationality. The convention, however, would only abolish such conflicts at the expense of recognizing the principle of the subjection of women.

The Hague Conference did partially admit the principle of the independence of a married woman in regard to nationality, but it felt unable to go beyond the provisions of Article 10 of the convention.

Nevertheless, the representatives of the governments showed their feelings by adopting a recommendation which invites States to consider "whether it would not be possible to decide that, in principle, the nationality of the wife shall henceforth not be affected without her consent, either by the mere fact of marriage or by any change in the nationality of her husband".

It is therefore desirable that the gov ernments, after a fresh study of the question, should instruct their delegates to bring about the complete application of this principle which, if universally adopted, would thenceforward prevent conflicts either of statelessness or of double nationality in the special case of the married woman.

2. *Nationality of Children.*—The nationality of children ought not to be an obstacle to women being independent as regards their nationality.

It should be realized that the simultaneous application of the two principles of *jus soli* and *jus sanguinis* frequently produces cases of double nationality of children born to parents who have the same nationality. Furthermore, double nationality resulting from the application of the *jus sanguinis* alone to children whose parents have different nationalities already exists.

The Hague Conference dealt with this question of double nationality and endeavored to solve it in a special chapter of the convention.

3. *Unity of the Family.*—It has been alleged that equality between the sexes in the matter of nationality would destroy the unity of the family. To argue on the assumption that unity of the family depends entirely on its members being of the same nationality and that a necessary consequence of such sameness of nationality is that one set of legal rules only is applicable to its members is to maintain a theory which is incorrect. This can be easily demonstrated.

*(a)* The sameness of nationality which existed at the beginning of a marriage ceases when the husband acquires a different nationality by naturalization.

*(b)* Multiplicity of nationalities in the same family may result, not merely from the husband and wife having different nationalities, but also from a third nationality being conferred on a child by application of *jus soli.*

*(c)* A woman who has married a foreigner may see her child acquire through the application of *jus soli* the nationality of which her marriage has deprived her.

*(d)* Domicile itself sometimes confers power to exercise certain civil rights and may thus give a member of a family a possibility of acting in a way which is absolutely contrary to the law based on the nationality of the family.

*(e)* The devolution of property may sometimes depend, not upon the law applicable to a family in virtue of its nationality, but upon the law of the country where the property is situated. It is often the rule that movable property follows the personal status of the owner but immovable property is governed by the law of the country where it is situated. Accordingly, the character of property may itself profoundly alter the respective rights of members of a family who are all of the same nationality.

The above examples clearly show that sameness of nationality within a family in no way implies that one set of legal rules only will be applicable as between the members of a single family.

It is thus clear that, even under a system of law based in part on the dependence of woman in regard to nationality, conflicts of law may exist, especially as regards the respective rights of spouses *(régimes matrimoniaux),* separation and divorce, inheritance, devolution of property on death, paternal authority, guardianship, etc.

It is only by means of an international convention that such conflicts can be and ought to be resolved. The problem has not escaped the attention of the League of Nations, which has set up in Rome an International Institute for the Unification of Private Law.

It is all the more important to ensure the application of the principle of the equality of the sexes at the foundation of the codification of international law, as this must of necessity influence subsequent conventions.

III. *Reasons for the Evolution of Legislation.*

The women's organizations have pointed out that recent changes in nationality law all tend towards establishing more and more the independence of the married woman. In reply, it has been said to be casuistry to argue that any nationality law is the result of any particular tendency, because, since the war, every State has had no other object than to keep its own nationals and to take over the subjects of other countries. Is it possible to attribute this as the sole motive of the twenty-three States which in recent years have modified their law in a direction more favorable to women? These States are the following: 1918, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics; 1922, Belgium, Estonia, United States of America; 1924, Norway, Roumania, Sweden; 1925, Denmark; 1926, Guatemala, Iceland; 1927, Finland, France; 1928, Turkey, Yugoslavia; 1929, Albania, China, Cuba, San Domingo, Ecuador, Persia; 1931, Spain; 1932, Canada.

This list undoubtedly contains States which desire to increase the number of their nationals; but if this had been the sole consideration in view, they would have confined themselves to giving a wom-

an who married a foreigner the right to keep her original nationality without having recognized the same right in the foreign woman who married one of their nationals.

IV. *The Present Situation.*

Since The Hague Convention was drawn up some States have modified their legislation. Various governments, also, in the observations drawn up for submission to the thirteenth assembly, have stated their intention of examining the question of the nationality of women again, both as regards their internal law and as regards the international convention.

It seems thus possible and necessary that the question should be taken up again before the convention has come into force through ratification by ten States.

In submitting their observations the undersigned women's organizations do not think that the benefit of the work done at The Hague should be lost. They only ask the thirteenth assembly of the League of Nations to decide that it is necessary to proceed to a new examination of the nationality of women.

CONCLUSION.

The League of Nations recognizes, and its mission is to recognize, the rights of all peoples, small or great. Must it not also ensure recognition of the right to liberty of all individuals without distinction of sex? Is woman to be treated as a human being whose independence cannot be sacrificed to circumstances or to the needs of a community; or is she to be dealt with merely as an object of whom anyone may dispose at his pleasure? That is the real question, even if it is being asked in an apparently purely legal form, a form which cannot, however, conceal its great moral and social importance.

The Covenant of the League of Nations has established the equality of the sexes within its own internal organizations. That is good, but it is not enough. This principle of equality should now be applied in international legislation.

The League of Nations had good reason for placing nationality on the agenda of the First Conference for the Codification of International Law, for nationality determines the rules of law which apply to individuals in public as in private life. Thus it is equitable that for women as for men there should be recognized the right to keep their nationality of origin and not to have their nationality changed except with their consent freely given in a voluntary act.

August 15, 1932.

*International Council of Women:*
(*Signed*) MARIA VERONE.
LOUISE VAN EEGHEN.
*International Alliance of Women for Suffrage and Equal Citizenship:*
(*Signed*) EMILIE GOURD.
A. LEUCH-REINECK.
*International Federation of University Women:*
(*Signed*) N. SCHREIBER-FAVRE.
CHRYSTAL MACMILLAN.
*The World Union of Women for International Concord:*
(*Signed*) CLARA GUTHRIE D'ARCIS.
CECILE WUARIN.

# A Working Woman Speaks

By Josephine Casey

THE working girl is not inarticulate, but she hasn't much time to talk publicly because she is busy earning a living. In conversation she expresses herself not only in English, but many I know speak several languages. Not long ago I went to the northern part of Rhode Island to tell the textile operators that over in Geneva a committee had been appointed which was unfair to working women, and that it might be well to write to Monsieur Thomas in an effort to set him straight. Just a plain little group of American working girls were to tell a famous European leader that it is a poor beginning for an International Court of Justice, to represent only one side of a question and that the viewpoint of the minority. We discussed the language best to use, and finally decided that the girls, all native Americans, should write to him in *his* language, which was French.

I have talked with thousands of working girls in Georgia and Rhode Island, Massachusetts and New Jersey, during this past year, and all these girls, clear thinking and articulate have told me that what they desire more than anything else is equality before the law.

Equality before the law is the same old ideal that moved Moses out of Egypt. A moving principle which came down through mighty historical events until it came clearly before a little group of Quaker ladies meeting at Seneca Falls in 1848. They perceived the basic truth was equality before the law for men and women, and that the greatest harmony we can ever hope to achieve must carry equality. The result of this little gathering was the drawing up of a platform, which they in their quaint way named "A Declaration of Sentiments." The first section was to secure the vote, and with this to aid us to proceed to the great objective, Equality in the law. This platform which you have come to know as "The Declaration of Principles," is the foundation on which the National Woman's Party stands.

The vote won we are now at the second and greatest part of our program. Like others, the working woman has caught up the standard of truth and with it has now gone forth to battle for her right to hold her job.

When the good ship employment seemed pretty crowded, the panic ridden shouted, "Throw the women overboard!" But as the women did not have life preservers—that is any visible means of support—they refused to jump into the sea of unemployment when ordered, but surprised the world by standing together and resisting. The industrial woman is in the first line trench since the worst laws are aimed at her. Backing her are the business and professional groups, behind them, other women.

Last year a call came from Georgia—a woman said she would rather be shot than lose her job. Maybe she wouldn't if it came to a test, but if any one she loves depends on her for support—I am not so sure. I reached Georgia just as the peach trees were in blossom. I shall always remember the way the color of the earth and the blossoms harmonized in rich beauty. It was Rembrandt and Beethoven. We who work love beauty, and let me say here that if the Metropolitan Opera cannot meet expenses it is not because the New York working girl has not paid her dollar for a seat near the roof.

It was in Georgia where I first saw beauty in a mill. Once it was in a rug mill. The two opposite walls were of glass, a portion tinted blue. Through one side I saw Dorothy Perkins roses, through the other a pool. The colors the girls worked with were soft and lovely. The girls themselves were attractive and educated.

Another time I saw beauty was in a mill at night. A warper machine gave the impression of a harp with a thousand strings. The woman who stood there working moved with grace and sureness.

This is a machine that requires ability to manage. Once a girl from a university tried it, and after a few defeats, she turned to her coworkers and said, with irritation, "This isn't a job, it's a profession." The girls still enjoy telling how the college girl tried to be a warper within a week's time.

Sometimes a girl did not know I was coming until I stepped behind a machine and spoke to her. Once I pretended to be "a lady who gets laws passed against working girls." I said, "How do you like working nights?" "Oh, alright," was the answer. "Don't you think it would be nice to have a law to do away with night work altogether?" Bang! went a bobbin, smash against a machine and a voice with anger and terror screamed, "I tell you there are women with families here who will starve if you pass that law!" I never asked that way again. I'm thankful that

bobbin was directed towards the machine.

Sometimes we talked things over in their homes. One Sunday night we sat around on boxes and barrels in the store of a mill village while they expressed their views. You have heard of the men of the village gathering in the general store to settle the problems of the universe. Well, I'm telling you about a modern version of this local court of public opinion, for both men and women were there to help settle just one problem and that, a woman's right to work. One in the store, expressed her opinion this way: "My boy is a good boy, and he ain't going to see his mother hungry. Of course, he has a mighty hard time trying to feed his children, but he won't see me starve—he's a good boy. *But that ain't it.*"

"You are right, I understand you. 'That ain't it.' Why should you sit around waiting for the crust from a loved one already carrying a heavy load, while you have health and ability to take care of yourself?"

I asked what they thought night work had to do with overproduction, and the reply to my question was, "If I do two hours' work at night or two hours' work in the afternoon, I reckon it's just two hours, isn't it?" "You are a better mathematician than your opponents," I told her, "for it is duration of time not the hour on the sun dial that determines production. Those who work ten hours a day, sixty hours a week, have no reason to cry 'overproduction' to you who only work eight hours and a 48-hour week."

When formal announcement had been made in the North that women and children were to be sent home from night work in the Southern mills, a committee asked those responsible for the statement whether the women would get day work. The reply was, "We do not know." Thousands to be removed from their chance of earning a living! The problem was not overwork — it was underwork. Like a game of pussy-in-the-corner—if you had a corner on any kind of a job, you wanted to hold it. It is not protection to throw women out of work. It was precisely because they resisted this false protection that the women were enabled to keep their jobs and their self respect.

At one of the legislative hearings, a protectionist who did not have to work for wages waved her arms and said, "Why! who wants to work at night, anyhow?" An earnest voice spoke up saying, "I do madam. I have children to feed. I need this job. If it were taken from me it would be awful. I would not know which way to turn to look for another. I want to hold this job to support my children." Then the lady replied, to this. "Why you poor foolish girl! You can't get laws for yourself. We on the outside must get them for you."

The girls present were indignant, and were discussing it later. One girl said, "I didn't care for their hats. I'd like to have a law passed that they must buy a hat once a year just to keep money in circulation. It would not be any more impertinent for us to do that than it is for them to arrogate to themselves the right to decide for us something which concerns us."

Even when need was clamoring the women did not always talk from the standpoint of poverty. Sometimes the pure right, as citizens, to have a voice in what concerned themselves flamed up. This was true not only in Georgia but in Rhode Island too. A proud Southern girl, whose ancestors were at Stone Mountain, and whose forebears as pioneers cut the great trees to clear a place for planting beans and other food produce, said about those who think we who work are ignorant and inarticulate. "They want to reduce us to the status of peasants. Perhaps she visualized the ancient type of peasant who, cap in hand, touched his forelock, and said: 'Is it the likes of me that knows anything? You, sire, make the laws for me'."

In order to strike at the women, it is usually said, "Women and children must go." After my arrival in Georgia, I looked around the mills for the children. Seeing none, I asked where they were, and was told that the children's law had eliminated child workers years ago. Still I insisted they had to be in the mills and at night. Then I was asked why I believed children to be employed in the mills. I told my questioners that if children were to be sent home from the mills the implication was clear that children must be there to be sent home. They saw the point.

So it was fiction—just fiction. Whenever you hear of women and children hooked up together, where they should be separately classified, you may be sure that some one is slipping in a large slice of fiction.

The bills which would have handicapped women never came to a vote in the Georgia Legislature. There was a hearing. The girls spoke for themselves.

The next battle was in Rhode Island. The Governor had appointed a committee to investigate women and night work, and while it was securing its data, I went to the girls themselves to ask them what they thought. In one mill where I consulted over a thousand night workers, I found that only five would not face starvation if thrown out of work. I get used to some things in doing this task, but about the time that I think I have experienced every bit of drama something will come up to grip me. One night in the mill a woman stopped my talk, to say she had a message from another. The message was: "Oh God, please tell those women to keep up the fight until my children are a little older." A textile worker can't manufacture tears. When they burst out crying it is about time for all good people to have a revaluation to find out if the ancient program of so-called "protection" has any *present* value. There are none so proud as the poor. We who have always worked, know that. Therefore it isn't going to help society if a man working in a machine shop loses his work, when it is especially slack in that line, and you won't let his wife who can get a job, hold one. Sometimes it is her wages coming in to provide food for the children which keeps him from the river. He does not want to ask charity. He feels ashamed to admit he is at that point. She understands. She knows it isn't his fault. It does not mean that he has failed.

Out of Rhode Island came the splendid report of the Governor's commission. It is an historical document because it bears witness to an immortal principle. This is one section of the report:

"The weight of the evidence seems to be on the side of the opponents of the proposed legislation, particularly when it is borne in mind that the general trend throughout *this country* seems to be to give women an equal standing before the law with men. We believe that any State should proceed very cautiously in enacting legislation which will deprive any portion of the electorate of what they have reason to believe is one of their basic rights."

When we realize that this opinion comes from Providence, it is especially significant. Every theatrical man who tries out a play in Rhode Island knows that if the story is accepted there, it is safe. If it is not good enough to get across in Providence, the box office returns throughout the United States would be weak. Translate box office to ballot box, and you will see the importance and grandeur of this decision.

A call came from another State while I was in Rhode Island. The Committee of Fifty told me I could answer it. The Committee of Fifty consists of working girls from different points in Rhode Island who command the guard which is resisting false legislation. They are clear thinking and capable and cheerful. I recall a day when some one asked if night work was unhealthy. One of the fifty said with a smile. "When it's a dark, dark day, and the electric lights are turned on, and to all appearances it is night, don't you get terribly, terribly ill?" Then they both smiled.

Some day soon there will be another decision. The Lucretia Mott Amendment: "Men and women shall have Equal Rights throughout the United States and every place subject to its jurisdiction," will be written into the Constitution of our Coun-

try. When that day comes the citizenship of woman will be well established that no one will attempt to reduce her to the status of peasant or throw her out to ask alms as a pauper.

The women in factories, offices and homes are stepping to the tune of that fine old spiritual, "I want to walk in Jerusalem just like John," and let me assure you when the heavenly city comes down, one of the convincing signs that it is the New Jerusalem will be that there is no subjection there but the golden atmosphere of equality enfolds man and woman, upright and strong.

# News from the Field

### Headquarters Announcements

ACTIVITIES at headquarters of the National Woman's Party are shaping themselves into a winter program of vigor and definite interest.

There will be a tea at Alva Belmont House on each third Sunday afternoon, sponsored by the Young Women's Council, under the leadership of Mabel Van Dyke. Speakers who are qualified to bring new highlights on the fight for equality of men and women before the law will be featured at the teas.

Edwina Avery, able chairman of the Government Workers' Council, has announced a dinner program at headquarters for the third Thursday evening of each month; a mid-winter banquet; and a spring tea, when the council will be host to all other councils of the Party.

Members interested in Spanish-speaking America are being welcomed into a group that will meet Tuesday evening, beginning October 18, for dinner with an official from Central or South America as guest of honor to discuss equality laws in his country. The dinner will be followed by a class in the Spanish language, with a capable teacher.

The Authors' Council, to include those interested in journalism and all forms of prose writing, will have its organization meeting at headquarters on October 14, with Anyda Marchant acting as temporary chairman.

On the first Thursday evening of each month the poets of the Party will have their council program at Alva Belmont House. Myrtle R. Patterson is chairman. It is of the utmost importance that newspaper and all other writers have a clear understanding of the Equal Rights Amendment and its need.

The District of Columbia Branch of the Party will continue to sponsor Sunday afternoon teas at Alva Belmont House on the last Sunday of each month, bringing as speakers persons of social and official importance.

### Congratulations to Miss Doetsch

IT IS not often that EQUAL RIGHTS blows its own trumpet, but the present occasion may warrant a blast or two. During the summer months, as many of our readers know, Emilie A. Doetsch, formerly on the editorial staff of the Baltimore *News*, has been conducting the paper. With this issue she places EQUAL RIGHTS again in the hands of the editor-in-chief. So many pleasant things have been said about the paper while it has been under Miss Doetsch's management that it seems a pity to leave them all buried on the editorial desk. We therefore reprint a few of these communications, and add our own gratitude and appreciation. Writing on September 19 from Hollywood, California, Bernice A. Dryer says:

"I enjoy every issue of EQUAL RIGHTS and frequently pass on copies. Several months ago I took a stack of them down to the periodical room of our Los Angeles Main Public Library. The librarian did not know of such a publication and was very happy to have them. I now have another stack of them ready to take down there. I can't bear to let any of them go to waste. Even if I'm not in the actual fight, I'm cheering on the side lines and thrilling with pride over the wonderful work that is going on and the wonderful women who are carrying the banner aloft in the struggle for freedom for one-half of the world."

On October 3 Katharine E. Boyle of Cincinnati, Ohio, wrote:

"I have long wanted to tell you what an interesting and important paper I consider EQUAL RIGHTS. It is not just another woman's journal. It reports thrilling achievements, is a splendid history in the making and commands attention and respect. The editorials, too, I find of great interest. Accept my congratulations and appreciation for EQUAL RIGHTS."

Marjorie Ann Gillis, legislative chairman of the Massachusetts Branch of the National Woman's Party, puts the whole thing in a nut shell apropos of one special edition: "EQUAL RIGHTS of September 24 is a peach! Congratulations."

We could go on for several pages quoting from the charming letters of our subscribers, but these perhaps give a sufficient indication of the esteem in which Miss Doetsch's work is held.

### Maryland Opens Fall Campaign

AT the time of the annual convention of the Maryland Branch of the National Woman's Party last May a new plan of organization was adopted looking toward the development of stronger local organizations and councils. During the summer months, under the re-organization plan, the local groups have mapped out their own programs of activity, and during the past few weeks they have begun putting them into effect.

On Tuesday, September 27, the Business and Professional Women's Council held a meeting at the Luncheon Club in Baltimore, and had the pleasure of hearing Mildred Kahler Geare speak on "The Women of Spain." Mrs. Geare, who is a member of the council and editor of the women's club page of the Baltimore *Sunday American*, spent several weeks last summer in Spain and met many of the foremost Feminists.

Ida I. Kloze, attorney and chairman of the council, presided over the meeting.

On Friday, September 30, a meeting of the executive committee of the Maryland State Branch was held in the home of Marie Presstman, vice-president of the organization. At this meeting plans were outlined for a Maryland State Conference, to be held at the Woman's City Club in Baltimore on Tuesday, November 15. The conference will be an all-day affair and is designed to bring the various local branches and councils in Maryland in touch with one another.

The morning session and luncheon will be directed by the Baltimore City organization, of which Mrs. J. William Funck is chairman. The afternoon session will be carried through by the Baltimore County Branch. The dinner will be managed by the Business and Professional Women's Council, and the evening session by the Goucher College Students' Council.

The executive committee also mapped out a general plan of campaign for the winter months and advised directing the work toward the passage of the Federal Equal Rights Amendment and a jury service bill in Maryland.

The Baltimore City Branch held the first meeting of the season on Tuesday, October 5, at the State headquarters, 19 West Chase street. Several of the officers gave brief addresses, and the hostess committee served tea. Those speaking were Rose I. Loeffler, corresponding secretary; Dorsey Leonard, recording secretary; Mollye H. Rollman, treasurer; Vera Fowler Lewis, chairman of the legislative committee, and Mrs. John Meixner, chairman of the hospitality committee. Several new members were elected. Meetings of the Baltimore City Branch will be held every Tuesday at 2 P. M. at 19 West Chase street during the winter months.

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